Kroeber E-8 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

415 inches in diameter, drawn into narrow necks with everted lips, two and a half inches in diameter. These had a total height of fifteen inches.

[727] A special jar was made to hold scalps. This ("ie'rhll,atca'vis, "hair container") was nearly globular, had no neck or lip, but a small mouth only large enough to thrust the hand through. (I was not told the size of the vessel.) A clay plate covered the mouth.

Ladles or spoons of various sizes were made (kamota'dako"; kamota', "spoon"). Most of them must have been ladle-like (Pl. VII, *a*). I was told, however, that spoons had bowls the size of our soup spoons, with handles curving backward at the tip. Larger ladles were also made of wood (Pl. XIV, *a*, *b*).

A griddle (maδi'l), on which to bake wafer bread, was made in the form of a thin, shallow bowl (about twelve inches in diameter; less than a half inch thick). This was considered difficult to manufacture because it broke easily while being fired (Pl. VI, *i*).

531 415 Decoration was not applied to cooking pots and parching pans since these were soon blackened in use. Water jars were painted red over the exterior, ladles in their entirety. Bowls or cups were solid red or white inside and out, with designs in black. Designs seem to have been applied relatively rarely in the old days. The combinations of red and white surface colors and the polished surfaces of modern examples did not exist.

323 [317] The clay used for the body was common adobe (matgwlnyatcau', "dirt for making things"), available anywhere within a few yards of the house. It was dug out with a stick, spread in the sun until well dried, and pounded fine on the metate. Fine sand was mixed with it; for every double-handful of adobe a like but scant quantity of sand was used. Sherds from the ancient ruins were also pounded up in place of sand tempering. Usually the mixed ingredients were then soaked with water, although the clay might be soaked before the sand was added. The batch was kneaded to the consistency of stiff bread-dough. The moulding of the vessel might start at once, but it was preferable to set the

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

175 Bartlett saw a party set out against the enemy north of the Salt River in July
726 1852. "Their arms were solely the bow and arrow: most of them had a skin quiver hung across their backs; though a few carried their arrows in their girdles."
[411] And in speaking of Pima-Maricopa armament in general, he wrote, "The only weapon used by these tribes is the bow and arrow. The short club of the Yumas and the long lance of the Apaches I never saw among them. The constant use of this weapon has rendered them excellent marksmen. Even the boys are very expert in the use of it."[25]

726 Moving northward toward the mountains, they would start out slowly and camp hidden in the thickets of the Salt River bottom. During the night the journey was resumed, bringing them near the enemy toward dawn. There they would rest all day. Late in the afternoon they moved to the actual attack. Only a
[262] little ground parched wheat was carried for provisions. Rabbits might be killed on the way; these were roasted if it was safe.

726 A clairvoyant was always included in the party; one who had
787 dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote. While they were resting in the mountains, an older man would ask him to locate the enemy. Everyone must be quiet: the horsemen would lead their horses aside. The clairvoyant, standing beside a fire in the center of the
[276] circle of seated men, proceeded to smoke four cigarettes. By the time he had finished smoking the first, he thought he was lifted off the ground a little. With the second and third, he was still higher, and when the fourth was finished, he dropped as though dead. After a few minutes he sat up. The man who had requested his aid now lit a cigarette to give him. The clairvoyant would then tell how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain to reveal the location and numbers of the enemy; had told him from which direction to approach, how easily he would find and kill them. The warriors then set off, led by this man.

726 When they reached the enemy, all rushed forward to see who would kill the first enemy. If the enemy were surprised asleep, everyone in the camp was killed, three or four families. They did not look on a slain enemy's face any more than was necessary.
727 As soon as they knew he was dead, they faced toward home, with their backs turned to the corpse and to the mountains, which were also conceived as enemies.[26] Apparently they were quite

[25] *Personal Narrative*, II, 217, 237.

[26] See p. 253.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Yuma; Maricopa
Mohave; Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

satisfied with the killing and scalping of a single enemy. They preferred, if possible, to scalp their victim alive: together they rushed the man selected, sat on him, and cut away the scalp. It was sometimes taken from the dead, but "they do not call that a brave deed." Immediately it was thrown into the air and allowed to fall to earth. (It was not kicked in Yuma fashion and the singing and dancing which Cocopa and Yuma indulge in at this point were absent.)

As soon as they were ready to return one of the younger lads was dispatched with the news, whereupon everyone gathered at the meeting house to await them. Some of the old people might join in expressing their happiness by such songs as Ivâ∂o' and Mountain Killdeer.

Only a man who had dreamed of it could scalp, hence the taking of a single scalp was sufficient to establish the fulfillment of his dream. His dreams were of winning battles against fearful animals. If he had not the requisite dream, no man, no matter how brave, would take a scalp. There was a saying that if he had not dreamed but forced himself to take a scalp, the dead enemy would grin, so that he would flee in fear. Scalps were exceptionally dangerous: they caused paralysis unless those that took them or handled them underwent the purification described below.

The scalps taken were those with long fine hair: not all the slain were scalped. They took the whole skin of the upper half of the head cut away just below [*sic*] the eyes and above the ears. (The scalp was hie'∂au'g, "hair taken.") Sometimes the ears were taken separately, but not the whole head nor other parts of the body.

Dead foemen were eaten by the Yavapai, according to Kutox; a practice quite willingly corroborated by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant[77] and recorded by Dr. Kroeber for the more northerly Yavapai. The Maricopa and Halchidhoma never did (nor, according to Kutox's knowledge, the Yuma and Mohave), not so much because of repugnance as because

[77] Who, however, accused the Maricopa of the practice (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 186).

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1933) 1933 NT16 River Yumans NT16
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an [783] enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all tweaty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukávl'k tatápoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Cocopa
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

R 173 726

sent travelling over the mountains, but killed never an enemy. The Yavapai had come down and killed some whites and their mules, taken the harness and burned the wagons. The Pima-Maricopa went to Fort McDowell, where they stayed a year looking for Yavapai. They came over to Sacate near the Maricopa villages where they heard Yavapai were stealing horses.

They pursued the Yavapai. There were three of them, armed one with a gun, another a bow, the third a sword. Some followed their tracks directly northward toward the mountains. Others, a large number including the boy Kutux, circled to get ahead of them.

The three Yavapai walked along side by side. When someone rushed at them, they turned to face him and the one with the gun made as though to shoot. Those following came up with them first, but no one dared go close. They continued following. Toward morning the three came to where Kutux's party was. Kutux started toward them to see if he could not beat one down. The man with the gun was facing those following, so he thought he would chance it. But as he drew near, the bowman turned on him; so he retreated. The one with the sword disappeared; perhaps crawled under a bush. The man with the gun walked backward, holding off his pursuers, so they kept trying for the bowman. Kutux tried again. Just as he got close, someone at a distance shot the Yavapai. He tried to rise, but Kutux dismounted and hit him on the head with a stone, killing him. (Because of this Kutux would have had to undergo purification when he returned, so he gave the credit to the one who had shot the Y. vapai, "rather than starve", he said.[68]) This was at early dawn.

They knew two had escaped, so they scattered to search. Kutux felt very sleepy. He came close to a giant cactus, which he mistook for an enemy. He was afraid, so he dismounted and ran away. This has always been told as a joke on him.

PURIFICATION

R 783 727 R [753]

The theme that physical contact with the enemy was defiling threads through all the proceedings that follow on the return of the war party. The enemy, his scalp, his women and children who were made captives were all extremely dangerous. They were "diseased"; they brought sickness to such as touched them; they had potentialities for harm of a magical order. Once struck down, the very sight of the enemy must be hurriedly avoided. Even the mountains of his land, spiritually his in a literal sense, must no longer be looked on. This was clearly not for fear of the dead as such, for they had no comparable strong concern for their own dead, but because the enemy had maleficent powers on his side. All persons and things that had had intimate contact with him must undergo a stringent rite of purification (mata-

[68] Gifford recorded the same yielding of credit among the Cocopa. The one who took the credit had to undergo purification (Cocopa Ms).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

727 783 naĕ'k): those who had slain an enemy, those who had taken scalps or captives, and the captives, the scalps, and their permanent keeper. The sentiment was not foreign in other fields of Maricopa thought. Eagle feathers were not casually gathered: they had to be purified by a shaman before they could be used. One had to tread softly, speak circumspectly, move slowly, where mountain sheep were concerned.

It is not wholly clear that such sentiments held with respect to all enemies. All references to the necessity for purification I gathered were to the Yavapai and Apache: not once during the more numerous references to the Yuma and Mohave was it mentioned. Unfortunately I neglected to direct questions to the point.

346 727 783 When the war party was ready to return from the mountains, one of the younger boys was sent ahead to carry news that they had killed the enemy. Some of the men at home then hastily built huts in preparation for their coming. These were close to the Gila at some distance from the village. They were like those built for the girls' puberty rites, with their openings always to the east. It was also essential that they stand in a row, but the direction of the row was immaterial. One hut was built for each man who had killed an enemy, taken his scalp, or made a captive.

727 783 Such men did not return with the main group of warriors, but followed. They walked slowly in single file and preserved an absolute silence. Sometimes the warriors ahead would try to scare them, to shake them from this course, but the killers always marched on slowly. Even when the whole group stopped for the night, these men camped at a distance.

[302] Before they started home, these men twisted their hair into a knot behind, and thrust into it some sharpened twigs of ivusl, a medicinal plant, as hairpins. Another such stick for a scratcher was stuck into the side hair. If they used their fingers, their [413] hands would get sore. This scratcher was about six inches in length: to the butt a bundle of feathers (for wiping the face) was [827] attached by a short willow bark cord. These men must not spit [753] on the ground but into the middle of a bush, because the spirit of the enemy was following and would breathe it up, causing them to fall sick.

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

to fall sick. All the way home they were given very little to eat and drink. 727 783

When they reached the Salt River they drank all they could. Then an older man raised each one up and ran a well scraped arrowweed down his throat to make him vomit. They then stooped again and rinsed their mouths without drinking. They approached the river still in single file and preserved this order in whatever they did. When the first finished drinking, the second stood on the same spot, and so on.

From this point their sixteen days of purification began. At the Salt River each one bathed. When they arrived at home, they entered the huts prepared for them in the order they had been marching. There they remained fasting for the sixteen days, being given only a little soup of mesquite bean flour, and that only at dawn as the sun barely showed above the horizon. [785]

The program of the sixteen-day period was divided into sets of four days. Beginning with the Salt River crossing, they bathed every morning of the sixteen before dawn. At night, for the second four days, each man daubed his head with a mixture of mud and boiled mesquite bark; for the third set of four, with mud alone; for the fourth set like the first, this was omitted and only the customary morning bath was required.

During this time, a man who had scalped hardly let the scalp out of his hand. Every time he bathed he carried it into the water: when he slept he laid it on his chest. At the end of the whole period he gave it into the keeping of an old man, a former warrior, who as the custodian of all scalps, placed it with others in a large jar stored in the meeting house.

Every evening of the sixteen, old warriors went to the huts to talk to the men undergoing purification. They continued their harangues until midnight. They told them to be kind and agreeable to everyone, not to steal nor beg, not to be lazy.

The hut was left at the end of the sixteenth night. The occupant rose early on the following morning and returned to his dwelling. He did not enter it until just as the sun appeared. He walked in straightway and seated himself at the back, facing the west, with his back to the family. He slept in the dwelling and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

721 783 ate when the family did, but during all his waking hours for the next four days he maintained this position. From time to time other men would visit to see if they could make him laugh at their remarks. Each of these days he also bathed before dawn. This terminated the purification. "By the end of these twenty days, he was so thin as to be scarcely recognizable." The whole performance had to be gone through should he again kill an enemy.

CAPTIVES

● 727 Not many captives seem to have been taken. This was certainly not an objective of their warfare. Small boys were made captive, less commonly girls and women, but larger lads were killed because, being able to escape, they might lead the enemy against their captors. Women were seldom taken for the same reason. When they were captured, they were always hurried off [439] to sell in Mexico. Children were usually kept until they too were [567] old enough to sell.

Captives were thought to carry sickness which would fall on [753] the captor unless he got rid of them or they were purified. A child was immediately handed over to an older man to rear. Women and girls were given into the custody of old men, who, since they had not much longer to live, might chance the danger of keeping them. As with the Mohave, who had the identical reason,[59] it seems fairly certain that captive women were not violated.

727 783 Purification for the captive was much like that of the captor. The child was given very little food and made to bathe and put mud over his hair for the twenty days. It was kept away from the family for this period; made to sleep in a separate part of the dwelling, and they dared not eat from the same bowl with it.

727 563 Children were sometimes kept for life, reared by the men they had been given to as members of their families. The owner's daughter might interpose on behalf of a little girl of whom she grew fond. Boys were brought up with the thought that ultimately they would serve as guides and fight against their own

[59] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 752.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

people. Some people would pity them; those who reared them were kind; others outside the family might abuse them. But abuse ceased and their foreign origin was forgotten after these boys and girls had married Maricopa. Several Maricopa now living are known to have Yavapai blood, possibly all derived from a single captive ancestress.

A grown girl was captured from the Apache [Yavapai?]. Her owners treated her exactly as their own daughter. She rode with us against the Apache, showing the way. When she first arrived she was unintelligible, but by the time she was grown she could speak Maricopa and Pima.

Captives were collectively known as n,ixu'alyacðu'm, "——— taken be mistreated" (n,ixu', meaningless ?; alyac, "to mistreat," as by throwing dirt; ðu'm, "to take"); a single captive, n,ixu'-alyaðau'. A captive who had been kept for a long time was called n,ixu'alyikω'ałc, "old captive" (from n,ikω'ᵃ, "old," "ancient").[39]

[39] It seems probable that the last is the original of the term for captives used in the Spanish documents, *nixoras* (*niforas*). By its context the word seems to have been derived from the Yuman tongues. Font (1775) wrote: "They [the Yuma] usually . . . . try to capture a few children in order to take them out to sell in the lands of the Spaniards. These captives are called Nixoras by us in Sonora, no matter where they come from." But while here the word appears Sonoran, hence presumably Piman, he corrects this impression later (see below). Anza, for his part, wrote as though the Nixoras constituted a separate tribe: thus, in enumerating the personnel of the expedition of 1775, he listed "five interpreters of the Pima, Yuma, Cajuenchi, and Nifora languages," and in a letter of December, 1775, "This tribe [Cocomaricopa?], together with the preceding tribes and the Halchedunes, Niforas, Cahuenches, and others." But Font specifically corrects this: "I asked him [Anza] to tell me how he understood the entry which he knew he had made in his diary, that is to say, 'five interpreters for five tribes,' for I did not find more than three, and four at the most, counting as a servant of his an interpreter of the Pima tribe. . . . . The fact is that in order to heap up the salaries he had listed one as an interpreter of the Nixora tribe, though there is no such tribe; for in the Pimería they call Nixoras the Indians whom the tribes of the interior in their wars capture amongst themselves, and whom afterwards the Yumas and Pápagos bring to El Altar and other places to sell as captives or slaves, no matter what tribe they may belong to." As a matter of fact, Anza nowhere else wrote of the Nixorás as a tribe. Garcés several times used the name as a tribal designation, but with vagueness; he finally assigned "Niforas or Cuilsnivors or Naxi" to those Yavapai (or better upland Yumans) living northeast of the Halchidhoma. But there is no conviction to be derived from his usage that this was actually a tribal name (Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, II, 382; III, 2; IV, 102, 513; V, 305).

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

SCALP DANCE

The scalp dance, which followed the sixteen days of purification, comprised a dance by day, followed by singing throughout the night. Old men and women alone took part, even the men who had taken scalps being excluded with other young people. The old women alone danced, but they as well as the men took part in the night performance.

The scalp was mounted on a tall pole by an old man, its permanent keeper. The performance derived its named from this, "enemy standing" (hwiclvau'). Had an enemy been slain while raiding the village his corpse was mounted on another post beside it, facing the east, tied upright as high as could be managed.[2] There it would stay until it rotted away. The scalp had been previously prepared. It was fastened to a deerskin-faced hoop and the hair redressed in Maricopa style, with a feather on top and white lines drawn across the long braids. Every morning for sixteen days the scalper had washed it while he bathed, in order that by this purification it might become one of themselves, no longer an enemy. This accounts for the redressing in Maricopa style.

A ring of participants was formed around the pole with the singer and his helpers beside it. The old women wore their finery, painting their faces always with a black mask-like stripe across the eyes like warriors painted for battle. The circle of women moved counterclockwise facing the scalp, clasping one another's hands. Some would point at the scalp; others throw dirt at it. They yelled and howled in mockery, pretending their own scalps had been taken. The old men outside their circle joined in the cries. Captive children were also made to take part, being stripped naked and forced by the women to run about in the circle. A child too small to run well had its arms squeezed till it screamed and was forced to run until it could barely stagger. The dance continued all day.

[2] The Pima annals mention the Maricopa tying an Apache corpse to a post (apparently distant from their village) where it was allowed to remain. On another occasion the Pima strangled an Apache captive and left her body tied to a post (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 49, 50, 203). Browne in 1864 saw a "crucified" Apache near Maricopa Wells (*Adventures in the Apache Country*, p. 104).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana

Singing alone comprised the night performance within the meeting house, where the scalp had been set on a short post just within the doorway. (The Maricopa never danced in this house.) The old women joined the men in singing on this occasion, although normally they never attended formal gatherings in the meeting house. The singers used rattles or beat and scraped on overturned baskets by way of accompaniment as the songs dictated. The singing continued throughout the night.

There seem to have been no songs peculiar to the scalp dance with the possible exception of hwĭcĭvau′, "enemy standing," and tuxa′a^{a}, "pasted, sealed." The former bore a name identical with that of the whole performance; the latter was said never to have been sung for mere amusement. But these songs, like pipa′ (people), kapĕ′t (turtle), and cĭmâ∂ul,^{a} (red ants) were sung at both preparatory and victory dances. Hwĭcĭvau′ was said to be Halchidhoma, kapĕ′t Kohuana, and the three others Maricopa. All were sung at the joint performances of the mixed community. Tuxa′a^{a} and hwĭcĭvau′ had rattle accompaniments. The singer of the last-named dreamed of the enemy teaching him the song. The song related how the enemy treated prisoners and how appalling the enemy thought it that one of them lost his scalp. It also told of insects fighting among themselves.

The scalp now went into the permanent keeping of its elderly custodian, who placed it with others collected in the past in a special receptacle in the meeting house. Each morning before dawn for four days he bathed, washed the scalp, and replaced it. The receptacle (called 'ie′rhĭl,âtca′vĭs, "hair container") was especially made for the purpose: a large undecorated pot, nearly globular, with a small mouth and no neck, covered with a clay plate. For these four days he slept alone in the meeting house, lying on the south side with the pot to the east near his head. No one else dared sleep there for fear of the scalps. The keeper would hear the scalps talking together in the pot; would hear them go outside to play, open the door, and re-enter the pot. He would sometimes announce, "Something is going to happen to our people, because I heard the scalps laughing and having a good time"; laughing because a Maricopa was going to be killed or die at home.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwami

But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping. Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

the spot where the dead had come and taken the soul, he had chills if they had gone by the south road. He continued circling until by the fourth circuit the patient's house was reached. Should he fail to find signs of the lost soul, he was certain that it must be halfway to the land of the dead. He then quickly rolled his cigarettes and puffed them into the air. By this means, he sent a flame after them. When they, the dead, saw the flame following, "just like blood coming over," they left the soul and ran off. But they always tried to put the patient's soul in front of them, and told it not to look back. If it did so and saw the flames following, the patient recovered consciousness. "Then they [humans] ask him and he tells what happened." 755 774

Curing shamans accompanied war parties to exercise their art. One named wantcâvaai' (Juan Chevereah)[23] dreamed how to cure those who were shot, "so they always took him along to war." He dreamed of Buzzard, Duck (a particular species?, ωk̨'ωk̨), and Gnat (? unyĭpâwa'pâwa'). When a warrior fell shot, he sang, moving about him with arms and legs stiff. He could cure arrow wounds only. Another Maricopa could cure not only these, but gun, spear, and knife wounds. "He also dreamed of these three spirits, but got more power." 756 727 [708] [755]

Bewitching was a practice open to shamans, not to everyone. These were shamans, I was told, who had dreamed especially of Frog and Orion's Belt. But a conflicting statement suggests that bewitching was not confined to them. "All shamans could bewitch (matâθau'g). The spirit gives the shaman the choice of curing or bewitching, but the spirit tells him that he will not live long if he chooses the latter." Again, "a man who bewitched others would never try to cure. He would always try to bewitch." The truth seems to be that all shamans made only a partial choice. 754 756

The reason assigned for bewitching was jealousy. A handsome person or one who was prosperous was commonly the subject of witchcraft, thought Kutox, who was forever boasting how handsome he had been in his earlier days. 754 [578]

[23] Named as a Maricopa chief by the Mohave and the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER X

DEATH CUSTOMS

CREMATION

184 764 Like other Colorado River Yumans, the Halchidhoma and Maricopa cremated their dead and held a mourning ceremony for them. So far as the details of cremation were concerned the two tribes did not differ, but the slight Maricopa mourning rite was incomparable with the ambitious Halchidhoma affair. The latter closely paralleled that of Yuma and Mohave.

764 The dead were without exception cremated. This included those who died while visiting with foreign tribes, warriors killed in the enemy country, and infants. Those who were not cremated [775] could not enter the land of the dead (see p. 299).

[727] One who died away from home, as in war in the mountains [Yavapai territory], would be cremated right there. They would be quiet about it; gather logs at night, set fire to them, and immediately set out for home. If one died while on a visit to the Mohave, e.g., he was cremated there: if one of their men dies here, we do the same for him. The ashes were not carried home. But the time our people were killed at Yuma, we could not attend to them. They died in a pile in the center of their village. The bones lay scattered about for years. It was the same with all the Yuma who were killed over here.

[115] Cremation persists to this day: it occurred once while I was on the reservation. My aged Halchidhoma informant, Kutox, from whom most of the following description was obtained, was by common consent director of these affairs.

763 When a man had a mortal illness, the shaman in attendance was given four nights in which to cure. On the fourth night, when he knew his efforts were unavailing, he changed his songs. Previously he had referred in them only to things that are white; now he suddenly changed to references to black, and the auditors knew the patient would die. During the first half of the night, he sang persuading the sick man not to go to the other world, reminding him that his property was here. During the second half,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana

parents are very indulgent, much given to fondling the younger children, and rarely punish them. But—here is the essential point—they demand implicit obedience and see that they get it. 861

For all the lavished care normally the lot of children, there were cases to the contrary implying a certain detachment. Children were sometimes abandoned or destroyed.

While the Halchidhoma were still on the Colorado, a woman, whose first husband had sent her away because she bore him no children, had a girl baby by a second husband. His family made them separate because it was a girl. She said it was not right to raise a child who had no father, implying it was a bastard, so she drowned it. 847

Of a woman now living they say, "She was raised in a coyote's mouth." When she was a newlyborn (?) baby, her mother did not want her and put her off in the bushes. Her children had always died when but a few days or weeks old, so she thought it was no use trying to raise this one. They say a coyote must have kept the baby in his mouth all night, and in the morning opened it so the sun would warm the child. (This was, of course, a saying, not a belief.) Next morning the husband's mother said she did not want the child to die, so she fetched it and brought it up. It was given to various relatives to nurse. The girl, now in middle life, says she is "mean" because she was abandoned to die; that now her mother is old, she expects care from her daughter, but why should she give it? As a matter of fact, it is well known that she takes good care of her mother. 736 855

About 1840 a Kohuana widow of Gila Crossing decided that she wanted to rejoin her relatives still on the Colorado. She did not think her children, a boy of six and a girl of two, could make the long journey across the desert, so she abandoned them. Telling them to go to play, she stole away. The children slept in the meeting house and ate with whom they could. They had no relatives there, but people befriended them.

There was a saying: never abuse a child, because the day will come when you too will be a child (childish); which also implies their consideration for the aged. 855 888

Captive children, other than those sold immediately, were reared much like one's own. When a capture was made, the child was always turned over to an old man, who had not much longer to live anyway, for a captive might cause its captor to sicken. For sixteen days following the capture, the captive had to bathe, eat and sleep apart like the actual captor until it was purified. The old man's family would usually rear the child kindly, treat it as a son or daughter, especially if their own daughter was fond of her adopted sister. Others than members of this family might abuse them, but after they were grown and married to 563 727 [783] [597] 563 727

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

563 727 someone of the Maricopa community, their captive origin was no longer brought up against them.

867 Admonition was frequently given children. Kutox phrased the ideals of life as follows:

> We would tell a boy to grow up strong and brave, to love his neighbors and to be industrious. When a child was old enough, it was told to treat old people kindly; to share whatever it had with an old woman who could not help herself; never to throw things at an old woman. Boys should try to become famous in war. Girls were told to be industrious and kind to everyone. Girls were looked on as enemies; they were called that (see p. 225).

185 One thing appeared clearly from discussion, that, unlike ourselves, a parent did not feel that his child should climb to a higher social position than his own, or amass more wealth. "They did not seem to look ahead."

[721] Warfare was an ideal pursuit.

> Fathers told their sons to go to war. It was good to die young: everyone [888] mourned if one was killed in war. But an old man receives scant attention and nobody cares if he dies (said Kutox, himself aged).

866 Little boys of four to six were trained to withstand pain with this end in view. They were tested by pinching them hard or striking with a stick. The procedure may have been somewhat formalized, for it was said that several boys were tested together by an old man. If they did not cry out when struck, they were next placed on an ant hill to be bitten and finally pushed into a wasps' or bees' nest. It was taken as a sign that they would become brave warriors, if they did not cry. This procedure had no special name and was distinct from the following.

866 883 A group of boys of sixteen or eighteen were subjected to a formal test called tcutŏ'χâm by old warriors. They were admonished to be brave, to withstand starvation, thirst, and fatigue, and were told how to fight. The song tcutŏ'χâm (p. 268) was sung before the boys were taken to kill a swarm of bees hiving in the ground or in a hollow cottonwood. They were made to sit on the hive and deliberately kill all the bees, one at a time, regardless of their stings. This represented going to war, the bees being the enemy. This was not ostensibly a puberty ceremony.[10]

[10] There is an analog in the ant ordeal for boys among Luiseño and Juaneño [711] (Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 641, 672).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

539[x] it." He stopped, grasped some dirt, took it into the air, and shook it out. This made the old woman very angry. So she said, "You think you are going back to peck at the bodies again. On your way there you will find a shady place to rest. When you have had enough sleep, you can get up and say, 'I will go back and fill myself again.'" He went off. As he lay there, he was covered with tiny red ants. He brushed the ants away. He smelled and tasted them. They seemed nice to him. He began pecking at the red ants. From that day, he always feeds on these little ants, because the old woman arranged it so.

When everyone left, the old man Patŭkcŭ't went into the house and dragged out the bodies. They got a long post, tied [727] them to it, and set it up.[37] The blood dripped onto the ground. They parched pumpkin seed and pounded it fine. They caught all the dripping blood and mixed it with this. The whole village came and each took a little. They shared it in all the homes. When the bodies had dried, the bones tumbled to the ground. Those two girls went there and gathered the bones. They placed them on a pile of brush and burned them.

The girls still lived by themselves in a separate house. The younger sister was about to be confined. When her time came, the older sister told their father about it. Then he said to her, "Keep your eyes on the baby. When it is born, if it is a girl, we will keep her, but if it is a boy, I will take him while he is still tender." (I guess our people must have been cannibals.) She said she would watch the child. When the younger sister was about to give birth, the older poured water on the fire in which the old man intended baking the baby. This sent the ashes flying everywhere. Then when the baby was born, the old man could not see it for the cloud of ashes. Then when the older sister saw it was a boy, she dressed it so that the old man would think it a girl. She said, "I think it is a girl." He said, "All right; take good care of her. I am going back to bed."

Four days after that the child was big enough to run around. The older sister made a little skirt for the boy, to deceive the old man. She made a little ring to put on the boy's head, to carry a

[37] The Maricopa sometimes treated slain enemies in this fashion.

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
NT15 River Yumans NT15

junk bottle he saw about my tent or wagon, was suspected to contain the forbidden liquor; and nothing would satisfy him until he examined them himself. After finding in one lemon syrup, in another vinegar, and in a third a mixture for diarrhœa, which communicated an unpleasant pucker to his mouth, the fellow gave up all hopes of obtaining the object of his search. Much harm has been done by Americans in giving this poor and simple-hearted people intoxicating drinks; and it is a matter of satisfaction to me to state, that in my long intercourse with the Indians here, as well as at the Copper Mines with the Apaches, none ever got a drop of liquor from me or from my camp to my knowledge.

In the evening, while a crowd of Indians were lying or squatting around my tent, I had a long talk with a Maricopa, whose name I forget (but who spoke Spanish well), on the manners and customs of his people. This man was terribly crippled, having a year before been engaged in a fight with the Yumas, in which his party was defeated. He was lanced in many places, beaten with clubs, his hair cut off, and left for dead. After the combatants had left, he revived, and by some means succeeded in getting home. He was still unable to walk, except with a long staff, but had to be lifted on his horse, and rode about with some difficulty. He was quite an intelligent man, and, while we remained, was constantly in our camp.

He said the Coco-Maricopas came here not many years before, to escape from the Yumas, with whom they were constantly at war, and by whom they had been greatly reduced in numbers. Their former range was along the valley of the Gila, on the opposite side